

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 HA-05 IO-13 ACDA-12 EB-08 TRSE-00 COME-00
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P 101701Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6450
INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
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E.O.11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, GE
SUBJECT: GDR OPPOSITION MANIFESTO IN WEST GERMAN
PRESS: PART II

REFS: (A) BERLIN 24 (B) BERLIN 60 (C) 77 BERLIN 6984
(D) 77 BERLIN 7021

1. SUMMARY: DER SPIEGEL PUBLISHED IN ITS
EDITION OF JANUARY 9 THE SECOND PART OF THE
MANIFESTO ALLEGEDLY PREPARED BY AN OPPOSITION GROUP
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WITHIN THE EAST GERMAN SED PARTY (REFS A AND B).
THIS SECTION CONCENTRATES ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL
SITUATION IN THE GDR, AND LAUNCHES A VERY STRONG
ATTACK AGAINST SEVERAL OF THE LEADERS OF THE GDR
INCLUDING SED CHIEF ERICH HONECKER. THE MANIFESTO
CRITICIZES MISMANAGEMENT IN THE ECONOMY AND THE
BLOATED AND INCOMPETENT STATE AND PARTY BUREAUCRACY,

AND CHARGES PARTY LEADERSHIP WITH CORRUPTION, MISUSE OF OFFICE AND NEPOTISM. THE MANIFESTO SETS OUT A SERIES OF DEMANDS WHICH INCLUDES A REDUCTION IN THE SIZE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PARTY BUREAUCRACY, REFORM IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM, AND A FREE PRESS. IT DEMANDS AN OPEN TRIAL FOR RUDOLF BAHRO (REF C) AND URGES THAT CHARGES BE BROUGHT AGAINST THE MINISTER FOR STATE SECURITY FOR ABUSE OF POWER. THE GDR HAS REACTED IN A PREDICTABLE MANNER, CHARGING THE EDITOR OF SPIEGEL WITH BEING AN FRG INTELLIGENCE AGENT AND ASSOCIATED WITH THE GEHLEN APPARATUS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE SECOND PART OF THE MANIFESTO, ALLEGEDLY ISSUED BY THE LEAGUE OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNISTS OF GERMANY, IS PRINTED IN THE MOST RECENT EDITION OF DER SPIEGEL. SIGNED BY THE "CENTRAL COORDINATING GROUP" AND DATED OCTOBER 1977 (BERLIN), THE MANIFESTO CONSTITUTES AN OUTPOURING OF COMPLAINTS AND DEMANDS COVERING MANY ASPECTS OF DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC LIFE IN THE GDR. THE MANIFESTO DIRECTLY ATTACKS, BY NAME, SEVERAL OF THE KEY LEADERS OF THE GDR INCLUDING HONECKER, LAMBERZ, MIELKE, NORDEN AND HAGER. IT CHARGES THESE AND, BY EXTENSION, THE ENTIRE POLITBURO, WITH INCOMPETENCE AND PERSONAL CORRUPTION. IT ALLEGES THAT SEVERAL OF THEM HAD MODIFIED THEIR OFFICIAL BIOGRAPHIES TO IMPROVE THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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APPEARANCE OF THEIR RECORDS AND SPECIFICALLY -- IF BRIEFLY -- CASTS ASPERSIONS ON HONECKER'S CONCENTRATION CAMP ACTIVITIES. THE LEADERSHIP IS CRITICIZED FOR HAVING PRIVILEGES UNAVAILABLE TO OTHERS AND FOR PROVIDING JOBS FOR RELATIVES. IT STATES THAT TWO DOZEN FAMILIES ARE RUNNING THE GDR AS A SELF-SERVICE STORE, LIVING IN GOLDEN GHETTOS, GUARDED LIKE FORTRESSES. NEVER HAVE THE LEADERS OF GERMANY SO CORRUPTED AND ENRICHED THEMSELVES THROUGH SPECIAL SHOPS, PRIVATE IMPORTS FROM THE WEST, BONUSSES, SPECIAL CLINICS, AMENITIES AND GIFTS AS HAS THE CURRENT RULING CASTE.

3. THE LEADERSHIP AND THE PARTY AND GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY ARE CHARGED WITH INCOMPETENCE WHICH HAS LEAD TO A LOWER STANDARD OF LIVING THAN IN THE WEST. THE ORGANIZED CHAOS WHICH THE HONECKER REGIME HAS CREATED HAS REACHED THE POINT OF INTOLERABILITY. THE TOP LEADERSHIP IS INCAPABLE OF ANY ORIGINAL IDEAS, ALL DECISIONS ARE MADE BY ANNONYMOUS DIVISION CHIEFS WITHIN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. ALL OF THIS, THE MANIFESTO CONTINUES, DOES MORE HARM

TO SOCIALISM THAN ALL SO-CALLED ENEMY PROPAGANDA;
KILLS INITIATIVE AND RESPONSIBILITY AND STRANGLES
SOCIAL PROGRESS.

4. THE GDR, THE MANIFESTO STATES, IS A COUNTRY
IN WHICH THERE IS ABSOLUTE INSECURITY OF CIVIL RIGHTS.
NAKED CAPRICE REIGNS, AND THERE IS A DOUBLE STANDARD
FOR THE LEADERSHIP AND FOR OTHERS. "NUMBER ONE"
(I.E. HONECKER) SIGNS THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT, BUT
PEOPLE ARE PUT IN PRISON BECAUSE THEY WISH TO TRAVEL
ABROAD AND THOUGHT THEY COULD
BELIEVE THE WRITTEN, INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATION

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USIA-06 HA-05 IO-13 ACDA-12 EB-08 TRSE-00 COME-00
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P 101701Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6451
INFO AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
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OF THE LEADERSHIP. THE MANIFESTO STATES THAT
THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR SHOULD NOT BE BOUND TO OBSERVE
POLITICAL DECREES IF THE LEADERSHIP IS NOT.
"PROTEST IS THE FIRST OBLIGATION OF CITIZENS." IT
IS NOT POSSIBLE TO IMPRISON 17 MILLION PEOPLE FOR

LIFE. THE MANIFESTO DEMANDS AN OPEN TRIAL FOR
RUDOLF BAHRO AND LEGAL ACTION TAKEN AGAINST THE MINISTER
FOR STATE SECURITY FOR MISUSE OF HIS POWERS.

5. THE MANIFESTO INCLUDES A LONG AND DETAILED
CRITIQUE OF THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM ARGUING THAT THE PRICE
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SYSTEM IS FUNDAMENTALLY DEFECTIVE AND PRECLUDES
RATIONAL PLANNING. QUALITY OF PRODUCTIVE EFFORT IS
DECLINING, COSTS ARE RISING, FOREIGN DEBT IS INCREASING.
THE PEOPLE OF THE GDR ARE LIVING BEYOND THEIR MEANS
THROUGH CREDIT, WHILE THE DEBT SERVICE BURDEN
MOUNTS, CONSUMING RESOURCES NEEDED FOR
INVESTMENT.

6. THE MANIFESTO ARGUES THAT THERE WAS A GOOD
ECONOMIC FOUNDATION BUT THAT THE BASIS HAD BEEN WIPED
OUT BY THE SOVIETS. SUBSIDIZED CONSUMER PRICES, OF
WHICH THE REGIME IS SO PROUD, ARE A DISSERVICE TO
GDR WORKERS, AND MAINLY BENEFIT EAST BLOC VISITORS,
ESPECIALLY MEMBERS OF SOVIET FORCES
STATIONED IN THE GDR.

7. THE MANIFESTO LISTS A NUMBER OF PROBLEM AREAS
IN THE ECONOMY, INCLUDING POOR QUALITY OF PRODUCTION,
MATERIALS SHORTAGES, INADEQUATE REPAIR FACILITIES
AND HOUSING. IT MAKES A STRONG CRITIQUE OF THE
INADEQUATE MEDICAL SERVICES ARGUING THAT WHILE SPECIAL
CLINICS FOR THE PARTY BOSSES STAND HALF EMPTY,
PATIENTS MUST WAIT YEARS FOR OPERATIONS AND INJURED
PEOPLE WAIT FOR HOURS FOR FIRST AID.

8. THE CONCLUDING SECTION OF THE MANIFESTO CONSISTS
OF A SERIES OF DEMANDS. THESE INCLUDE BASIC ECONOMIC
REFORM WITH PRICE AND WAGE DEVELOPMENT COUPLED WITH
ECONOMIC GROWTH, REDUCTION OF WAGES
FOR HIGHLY PAID PARTY FUNCTIONARIES, SUSPENSION OF
PAYMENTS FOR SPORT PERFORMANCES AND USELESS
PRODUCTIONS. IT DEMANDS THE LIFTING OF RESTRICTED
AREAS (WHICH IT DESCRIBES AS BEING THE SIZE OF
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LUXEMBOURG). IT DEMANDS THE END OF CENSORSHIP OVER
THE PRESS AND PUBLISHING AND SUSPENSION OF PAYMENTS
TO "PARTY PARASITES" FROM THE NATIONAL BUDGET.

IT DEMANDS THE REDUCTION OF THE GDR'S ENORMOUS
"SUBVERSIVE" DIPLOMATIC OPERATIONS, ARGUING THAT ALL
LEGITIMATE DIPLOMATIC FUNCTIONS COULD BE CARRIED OUT
WITH 25 PERCENT OF TODAY'S PERSONNEL WITH THE MONEY
SAVED TURNED OVER TO THE LDCS. IT DEMANDS A
SERIES OF SPECIFIC REFORMS AND WORKING CONDITIONS
AND OPEN DISCUSSION OF EXISTING PROBLEMS.

9. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND) IN ITS EDITION OF
JANUARY 9 LAUNCHED A DIRECT ATTACK ON THE
EDITOR OF DER SPIEGEL, HANS DETLER BECKER, AS BEING
CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE PUBLICATION OF THE
MANIFESTO. ND CHARGES THAT BECKER HAS BEEN AN
AGENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC'S INTELLIGENCE
SERVICE AND A WILLING TOOL OF THE FRG SECRET SERVICE.
HE IS CHARGED WITH HAVING ASSOCIATED WITH GENERAL
GEHLEN AND WITH BEING A PART OF HITLER'S
SPY APPARATUS. ND ALLEGES BECKER WAS INVOLVED
WITH THE ARREST, TORTURE AND MURDER OF
MEMBERS OF THE RESISTANCE ORGANIZATION "ROTE KAPELLE."
THE ND STORY ALSO REFERS TO CIA USE OF NEWSMEN
AND REPORTERS WITHOUT, HOWEVER, LINKING THE SPIEGEL
EPISODE TO THE CIA.

10. IN ITS EDITION OF JANUARY 20, ND UNLEASHED
AN EVEN STRONGER ATTACK ON DER SPIEGEL, PRODUCING
SEVERAL ARTICLES "DOCUMENTING" DER SPIEGEL'S
INVOLVEMENT WITH WEST GERMAN INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES.
ND ALSO CARRIES A NOTICE ON THE SAME PAGE OF THE
ARREST ON JANUARY 8 OF THE WEST BERLIN

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P 101701Z JAN 78
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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SENAT OFFICIAL GUENTER WEINHOLD BY THE STATE SECURITY
ORGANIS.

11. ND REPORTS THAT THE GDR PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
IN BONN, KOHL, OFFICIALLY PROTESTED ON MONDAY,
JANUARY 9 TO THE FRG CHANCELLOR'S OFFICE REGARDING
THE LATEST SPIEGEL PUBLICATION, WARNING IT COULD
AFFECT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GDR AND FRG, SAYING
THAT IT IS NOT CONSISTENT WITH THE SPIRIT AND LETTER
OF THE BASIC AGREEMENT NOR WITH THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT
AND IT VIOLATES THE RULES OF NORMAL BEHAVIOR BETWEEN
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STATES. ON THE SAME DAY, ACCORDING TO NEUES DEUTSCHLAND,
THE FRG PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE IN BERLIN, GAUS,
RECEIVED A SIMILAR PROTEST FROM THE GDR FOREIGN
MINISTRY. GAUS WAS TOLD THAT THE GDR FAVORED FURTHER
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE GDR AND THE FRG.
THE FRG COULD NOT AVOID RESPONSIBILITY FOR ACTIVITIES
AIMED AT PREVENTING DETENTE AND NORMALIZATION.

12. EMBASSY'S COMMENTS ON THE MANIFESTO AND
ITS IMPLICATIONS FOLLOW. BOLEN

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
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Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: BANKERS, TRADE VISITS
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Draft Date: 10 jan 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
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Disposition History: n/a
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Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Reference: 78 BERLIN 24, 78 BERLIN 60, 77 BERLIN 6984, 77 BERLIN 7021
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3803748
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GDR OPPOSITION MANIFESTO IN WEST GERMAN PRESS: PART II
TAGS: PGOV, GC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8fb06de5-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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